565 /Fr. race/, " "aristocrat, " and not "noble" as some have written.
[M2] This would be said elli (plural, illellan) in Tamashek. (1)

1. Cf. Nicolas, "Notes sur la société et l'état des Touaregs du Dinnik, " Bulletin de l'Institut Français, Afrique Noire, vol. I, nos. 2-3, 1939, pp. 579-586.

192 In Sudanese dialects, amacher, by transposition into local phonetics, becomes amajer (plural, imajeuren). As we have already
197 said, it is easy to find in these names the old Berber root amazir, which formerly referred to certain Libyan peoples and which still exists in the name of a considerable Berber fraction in Morocco.

The Imochar, who hold the political rights, are the real masters
565 of the country. All of them claim to be of sherif origin, more or
[M3] less descendants of the Prophet; however, this claim has no solid foundation, except the desire to assume a high birth affiliating them to Islamism and its founder a long time back, but this is not true.

/159/ Among themselves, the Tuareg refer to men of old nobility and old stock /Fr. race/ as loumet.

565 All the Imochar are essentially warriors. They owe their high
701 social position to the saber, and they know no other occupation than
631 war and raiding. Their role as suzerain makes them parasites of the vassal classes, and they used to constitute a scourge to caravans
[181 crossing their country. Their way of life has always been pillage,
461] and in their eyes manual labor is a disgrace which only slaves can accept.

181 Covering the desert on their camels, fighting, risking death in
565 faraway escapades -- that is what the life of a man of noble blood, who intends to remain one, must be. They take their vassals on their escapades and save part of the booty for them, by right of participation. Scorn for manual labor is a class prejudice with them

565 Duveyrier's protectors during his stay in the Tassili, acquire a real
631 authority over the Iḥaggaren and the Kel Ajjer, surely serving the
793 causes of peace. Their general action is much less significant than he says, and we may cite as proof that the same Ifora were pillaged themselves upon several occasions by the Iḥaggaren and forced to seek shelter in our South Algerian posts.

The influence of the Inislimen on the Iḥaggaren and the Kel
[797] Ajjer is not very considerable, for their religious proselytism is hardly active, and they are more diligent at making their herds prosper than they are at spreading the law of the Prophet, of whom, in fact, they are generally quite ignorant.

[559] /164/ They are very well thought of in spite of this, and their chief is surrounded by a very great respect. Very peace loving, they established trusting relations with us a long time ago and disapproved of the belligerent action of the Iḥaggaren against us, in particular at the time of the massacre of the Flatters mission.

184 The Inislimen play a very important role among the Tademaket
565 and the Ioullimmiden, actively spreading Islamism. Some are
793 accomplished men of letters and teach the Koran in the camps.
797 While the marabout elements in the north were the first to
[648] become reconciled with us, we have had the most indomitable enemies in their brothers from the south. They were at the base of all the agitations and revolts with their preachings, and they preached resistance to the French occupation with the greatest ardor.

174 The cradle of the Ifora was probably the ancient Berber capital,
565 Tademeka, whose present Arabic name is Es-Souq, which was
793 given to the principal tribe. They swarmed hither and yon from the Niger loop, by whole tribes or by small groups of a few tents. They are found all over Tuareg country.

[724] Many of them, using their religious character as a pretext,
[181] refuse to take part in wars. But beside these pacifist groups are
● 701 other clearly warlike ones; among the Ioullimmiden, the Cheriffen are divided into ordinary Cheriffen and warrior Cheriffen.

565 [511] [177] Although their present situation is more prosperous than that of the Imochar, as we have said, they do not stop at considerations of prestige of the latter. Since the occupation, they have been able to raise an appreciable income through animal husbandry and caravans.

565 631 [647] The Imrad are organized by tribes, electing a chief and respecting matriarchal rules like the Imochar. They administer their affairs internally as they see fit, without intervention of the amenokal or the Imochar in their affairs.

162 In all of the confederations, the Imrad are more numerous than the Imochar, in a ratio of one to five (northern Tuareg) and one to eight (Ioullimmiden).

181 565 721 [727] They are of a more peaceful nature than the Imochar, perhaps because they are less virile and less courageous. Still, they were often taken on raids against their will by the Imochar, and, aided by their taste for gain, they began before long to pillage on their own each time that a good opportunity presented itself. They often organized expeditions on their own initiative, but, if they were successful, they had to pay a certain share of the loot to the nobles. This was a guarantee for the future, the Imochar said, knowing full well that a raid brings about a counterraid, and that they were liable to suffer /166/ the repercussions of the "misconduct" of their vassals one day or another.

565 701 Some Imrad even acquire renown as great warriors, and some Imochar have agreed to place themselves under their command during a raid, bowing to their superiority.

[714] There are ordinary Imrad (goatherds) and warrior Imrad among the Ioullimmiden. The former did not take part in war, while the others were in all combats and, for that reason, had a right to the same armaments as the Imochar, but without the buckler.

565 631 Some tribes even became so strong militarily that they succeeded in freeing themselves completely from Imochar guardianship. This is the case of the Kel Gossi /Gossi/ from the loop of the Niger.

565 [582] Imochar sometimes marry Imrad women who are renowned for their beauty, but no inverse cases have come to our knowledge.

563 There are also important tribes in the Sudan who bear the name [174] of Daoussak. They are generally considered /168/ Imrad, but actually [701] the Daoussak were probably former Ioullimmiden shepherds who were not authorized to carry the lance and take part in combats. They [793] tend to give themselves a certain marabout air, and they multiply the Koranic schools in their camps.

Iborelliten. -- We can rank among assimilated vassals still other free tribes, quite little known until now, who bear the name of Iborelliten (singular, Aborelli).

They speak the Tamashek language and on the surface are in no way different from the Tuareg in the midst of whom they live. In some confederations they form very distinct tribes, depending in general only on the direct authority of the chief of the confederation; such tribes are those of the Aïr who are under the command of the anastafidet of the Kel-Oui. (1)

1. The Kel-Aïr are divided into Kel-Gerès and Kel-Oui, placed under the authority of the Sultan of Agadez. The Kel-Oui, probably of Oraren /Ouraren?, see below p. 37./ origin, have mixed enormously with the sedentary Hausa. Because of that they have diminished in the eyes of their racial brothers, who now consider them Negroes. They have a peculiar organization, and their chief bears the name of anastafidet.

They are more or less colored depending on the group, and some are as white as the Tuareg. They intermarry among themselves

which brings to our minds the idea of the serf attached to the glebe and sold with the domain which he cultivated, but rather as "client, bondsman, tributary." 565 631

In fact, if the amr'id pays the "tioussé," or tribute, to the noble, if he "lets him taste a little of what he has," according to his expression, if he is dependent on the noble, he nevertheless enjoys a freedom of action which the serf of the Middle Ages did not know. He has a right to the noble's protection if he is attacked, but he marches and fights with him armed with the same arms. In a raid he also shares with him and receives his portion of the loot, a portion which varies according to the tribe and which seems to have been fixed according to an ancient contract, in exchange for the protection granted. [701] [727]

And we will find the most convincing proof in the appointment of the amenokal. The imr'ad take part in this: it is they who speak first and state whether they accept the new amenokal, whether they have confidence in him, whether they promise /49/ faithfully to pay him the "tioussé." And he, on his part, promises to give them help and protection against all. 565 631 643

The noble makes it a point of honor to keep this promise. It would be a shame, "el r'ar," according to his expression (from the Arab word "el aâr" العار, not to avenge an insult or an injury rendered to one who pays him the "tioussé." 558 565 577 631

Chapter II

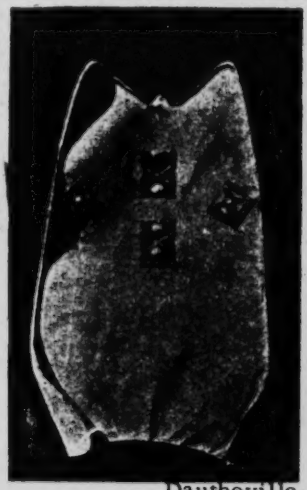
The Tobol. Inheritance

Concerning the tobol. The "tobol" originally was a drum made of a large gourd and covered with stretched hide, which the chief of the tribe sounded to gather his clients /dependents/ to tell them that pastures must be changed, etc. It was the insignia of command. 202 534 643 565

As a rule, an amicable solution is finally reached, but the part of the loot which is returned to the deputation is always far less than that which was taken. The Tuareg say, "Alal ouala," that is, "the restitution is never complete." 728

It may also happen that the raiders refuse to return anything. 721

[411]



Dautheville
Tuareg Shield

The raided tribe, if it considers itself too weak, solicits the support of another tribe with which it has good relations, and then there is fighting. /56/ [701] 728

When caravans of traders have been raided, since these caravans have usually placed themselves under the protection of noble tribes to which they pay dues, the controversy is settled between the protecting tribe and the raiders' tribe. 484 486 721

In the Ahaggar it seems that the old amenokal, Aïtar'el, established the restitution of loot taken from caravans protected by the Azdjer in the following manner: 728

1. Complete restitution of the pack camels taken from the caravans

2. For each load of merchandise taken, one "amadjour" camel for each man who took part in the raid and rode a mehari of his own

3. One "aleggues" (a young camel of three years) or a half-grown camel for each man who borrowed or hired the mehari which he rode in the raid.

The arms of a Tuareg and the harness for his mount have been described in detail by Duveyrier, and there is no need to review them here. /57/ 114

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

Agg Elkher, in his second period of reign. He is very old, and the French consider his son the actual representative of the group. [175] 634

On the ceremonial installment of a drum-chief in the past I have gathered conflicting information. People of the noble Kel Ferouan clan claim that the drum-chief should be installed by a vassal Tuareg of the group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But there are many vassals who say that a drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that [643] in the past when dissatisfied with a drum-chief they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him. I believe that this latter statement is officially correct, but it is possible that in the 19th century Kel Ferouan drum-chiefs as the most powerful chiefs of Air were installed by vassals.

The drum-chief should sanction the election of all chiefs of clans belonging to his group. He should install them ceremoniously providing them with a veil as at his own installation. When a vassal chief was installed in this way he should give a camel to the drum-chief. At present when the Kel Ferouan drum-chief has little [431] authority while the Sultan has gained prestige and power, the instalment of a vassal chief [178] may be undertaken by the Sultan, but this is against traditional rules. 614 634

In the past the drum-chief was considered the true owner of the land inhabited by his vassals. The drum-chief, it is said, would allot a particular area to each clan of vassals, but members of a vassal clan were not allowed to defend their territory against other vassals of the same group, as all land belonged to the drum-chief. 423 634 565

The drum-chief had the right to half of the bride-wealth *(taggalt)*, or one camel, from any vassal marriage, and he should receive or inherit a camel at any death among his vassals. These payments seem to have been the true marks of vassalship, [583] but the vassals had many other obligations towards their drum-chief. 565 634 651

One of the very important functions of the drum-chief was his position as the war-leader of the whole Kel Ferouan group. In battle the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg with the drum-chief would keep behind the vassals who formed the true soldiers of the group. The drum-chief would lead the battle and he alone could decide on war and peace. It was also his right to undertake the division of war-booty for which there were three distinct terms:- 634 701 634 727

1) *Temargedas*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the drum-chief. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g. riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the drum-chief while the other half should be given to the vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that one seventh of the booty should go to the drum-chief.

2) *Tewit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the Kel Ferouan group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the drum-chief would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

634 565 vassal clan as its particular vassals. A few vassal clans were also attached to the noble clan Kel Azel. I must admit however that I have not been able to gather very precise information about the relations between the Kel Azel and their vassal clans which were the following: Ijakarkaren, Imezzouren, Ikaoukan, Iforas, and Ikochechiten (a section of the Immezzilalen). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg say that these clans lived close to the Kel Azel to protect the latter clan, but they may also have had other obligations. For the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg also had constantly a few clans of vassals living close to them, and two of these (Iberdianen and Irobouren) are said to have carried out such work which could not be done properly by black-skinned slaves, while one clan (Igendianen) acted as permanent soldiers and protectors.

[463] [701]

114 565 614 Rodd has some very interesting remarks on the position of the vassals *(Imghad)* as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:– "One of the functions of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords for long periods or to trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as the agents of the nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a whole to undertake these duties. But such obligations are imposed collectively on the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom to share the offspring of the camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the animals dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible for making good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances." (Rodd 1926a, p. 141 f.). Rodd however also refers to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 136). As far as my own information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past attended to by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg, nor have I found any tradition of original cultural distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, although I have inquired much about this.

[422] [672] [567]

174 565 614 Rodd divides the vassal clan into three groups according to their origin. 1) Vassals who were attached to noble clans already before the immigration to Air from the north; 2) Vassals whose ancestors lived in Air before the immigration of noble clans; 3) Vassals who have been subdued in fairly recent wars (Rodd 1926a, p. 138). The vassal clans of Air unfortunately have very little traditional knowledge about their origin, but at least some of them will claim that they came from the north as did all noble Tuareg. It is very probable that the noble Tuareg already before their immigration had vassal clans attached to them as it is claimed by the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg. In other words: the political system of the Kel Ferouan Tuareg cannot be understood in complete isolation from political systems of the Northern Tuareg groups of Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where the Air Tuareg have emigrated.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

	Noble Clans		Vassal Clans	Inesmaren Clans	
The Tegehe-Mellet Drum-Group	*Tegehe Mellet*	33	*Kel Tarka* (part of the Ait Lemiren clan of the Kel Rela drum-group).	*Kel Tenarit* *Kel Oubet*	60 70
Noble Clans Without Vassals	*Kel Ehen Mellen*		The Inesmaren clans are said formerly to have been vassals of this clan.		
	Ikadeien		Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Tit.		

The Kel Rela Drum-Group in Ahaggar.

The Ahaggar Tuareg according to statistics from 1950 number 4,611 individuals (Lhote 1955, p. 157) and comprise 26 clans. In addition to the noble class termed *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*), and the vassal class termed *Imrad*, (sing. *Amrid*) or *Kel Oulli* (sing. *Agg Oulli*), there is also a class termed *Inesmaren* (sing. *Anesmas*) who can be considered vassals of a somewhat different status. The religious class *Inesmesen* (sing. *Anesmas*) is in Ahaggar represented by a few families without clan organization.

There are five noble clans but only three of them have vassals. There are in other words three drum-groups *(ettebel*, pl. *ettebelen)*, namely those of Kel Rela, Taitok, and Tegehe Mellet. The Kel Rela group is by far the most important, and its chief with the title of Amenokal is the supreme head of all three groups which constitute a sort of federation named *tegehe*. In rare cases when the Tuareg of Ahaggar joined forces against foreign Tuareg groups, e.g. the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer, the Amenokal was the war-leader of all three drum-groups. But in the past he had often little authority over the two other drum-groups. For long periods of the 19th century he had severe troubles with the Taitok, who had acquired a practically independent position, and it seems as if he had no rights over the land inhabited by the Taitok drum-group. The Amenokal as well as the two other drum-chiefs *(Amyar*, pl. *Imyaren)* were elected by the vassals of their respective drum-groups. It is true that the members of the noble clan had a certain influence, but – contrary to former opinions on the matter – they did not have any direct voice in elections. The Amenokal was and is ceremoniously installed by a Tuareg of the Isekkemaren class who provides him with a new veil or turban. The two other drum-chiefs should be installed in this way by the Amenokal, who also undertook the installation of all vassal chiefs within his own drum-group. The installment of vassal chiefs within the two other drum-groups were undertaken by their respective drum-chiefs. In the present chapter I shall describe the drum-group of the Kel Rela in some detail.

[Text continues on p. 104]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

Nowadays the price is determined by the Amenokal. When a tenant dies his rights and obligations should ideally be taken over by a maternal kinsmen. Traditionally the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved for people of the same matrilineage or section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole clan they belong to all clan members. These traditional rules, however, do not seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote is wrong in stating that the chief of the clan has the right to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole clan territory (Lhote 1955, p. 279). In the two clans here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

As the supreme judge of his drum-group the Amenokal can claim various indemnities *(ediet)* among which have just been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants. In case of adultery, for instance, the Amenokal can claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her as well as the seducer on the spot, and formerly the families of persons thus killed had no right to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder within the clan, but the Amenokal might then claim an indemnity from the murderer. When the murderer and the person killed were from different clans, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the kinsmen of the murderer. The Amenokal could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were ever paid. Revenge and blood-wealth have been abolished by the French administration which has given the Amenokal more power over his subjects than he had in the past. To-day the authority of the Amenokal is almost unlimited. If, for instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the Amenokal and ask him whether he considers the marriage suitable, and if the Amenokal agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different clans continues to live together with people of his father's clan after his father's death, the chief of his mother's clan may complain to the Amenokal, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the Amenokal can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice.

In the past the Tuareg of the Kel Rela drum-group are said frequently to have shown disobedient to the Amenokal. But the vassals would generally support him when he organized raids against other Tuareg as the war-leader of the Kel Rela group. The Amenokal had the right to a tribute named *abellag* comprising half of all booty taken by vassals of his drum-group. The vassals were allowed to engage in raiding without his consent, but he was the one who decided on war and large-scale raiding.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

been told about two such marriages which seem to have been contracted in fairly recent times. I think that the main reason why the noble Tuareg do not marry with their vassals is that such marriages would tend to break down the structure of the political system, as the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great many in-laws among vassals to whom the conduct would be institutional joking or avoidance. For in addition to true relatives by marriage there are numerous classificatory ones. This will become clear from the description of the rules of behaviour valid for relatives by marriage.

In spite of the application of the rules of joking relationship on a political level, troubles within the drum-group were far from unknown. And it is remarkable that even between the related tribes of *Irawatten* and *Kel Azel* there might be very severe quarrels. There was a latent opposition between them which might occasionally lead to fighting between noble Tuareg of the two groups. The existence within the drum-group of another noble tribe, the *Kel Azel*, with a certain number of vassals was always a danger to the position of the drum-chief as a ruler of the whole *Kel Ferwan* group. And noble Tuareg of the *Irawatten* tribe say that in the past it even happened that the drum-chief punished the *Kel Azel* very severely, not only taking all their livestock, but also burning down their camps. The drum-chief was able to maintain his power over the whole *Kel Ferwan* group because most vassal tribes were placed directly under his command, and because these tribes camped around Agadez which was dominated by him.

The drum-chief also had trouble with another tribe of his group, the *Kel Akerra*. This tribe is said to have been originally of noble status and to have had as its particular vassals the *Ibararojiten* tribe. In the past the drum-chief assisted by vassals of the whole group imposed vassalage upon the *Kel Akerra*, who, however, refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-chief three times made war against the *Kel Akerra* to bring them to submission and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the *Kel Akerra* tribe became small and insignificant. It is said that the tribes of *Imezzureg* and *Isakaranan*, who like the *Kel Akerra* are noble by origin, also did not give their bride-wealth to the drum-chief in the past. But the three tribes were vassals in the sense that they had to give part of their war-booty to the drum-chief and could not carry out raids on their own.

A certain discord reigned within the *Kel Ferwan* group, but the drum-chief had the support of most tribes of vassals, who at his order would fight not only foreign Tuareg groups, but also quell internal insurrections. However, the three northern tribes of *Kel Tédalé* were so numerous, so rich in camels, and lived so remote from the rest of the *Kel Ferwan* tribes that the drum-chief could not maintain his power over them. They were only nominally part of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the *Kel Tédalé* paid no tribute to other chiefs (Joubert 1939, p. 246), though it is said in Ahaggar that in the past they paid an annual tribute to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. But the *Kel Tédalé* were politically independent of other groups in Ayr, which is also stated by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim the *Kel Tédalé* to be true vassals of their drum-chief, and both Jean and Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104; Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three tribes the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427). The *Kel Tédalé* Tuareg I met all emphasized